[Since different authors attribute variant functions to the ajwogo, jal yat and bareth, for full information on these religious and magical practitioners in their various contexts see also categories 791, 793 and 754.]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajwogo*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, *i.e.* to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajwogo* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyar*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyar* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyar* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyar*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyar*. The magic of the *daiyar* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyar* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuep*) is associated with the *jalyar*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

[1] "When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man loses a nail and hair. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He does with the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 194-6

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect."[1]

The power of the *ajuago* is due to the immanence of the spirits of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang might or might not be *ajuago*; they do not become *ajuago* because of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ajuago* alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Boc (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ajuago*. When a man first becomes *ajuago* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ajuago*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ajuago* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognised that he is not truly possessed.

We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ajuago* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ajuago* would have access to their

[1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 125.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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wives only during the dark half of the month.[1] We discussed this matter with Aker in 1921. When asked whether a married woman who became an *ajuago* would stay with her husband, Aker, with a pantomime of horror, replied that this would be impossible and that she must go and live in another house; if her husband approached her she would die. Nor should she have anything to do with other men. A male *ajuago* who wants children arranges for some other

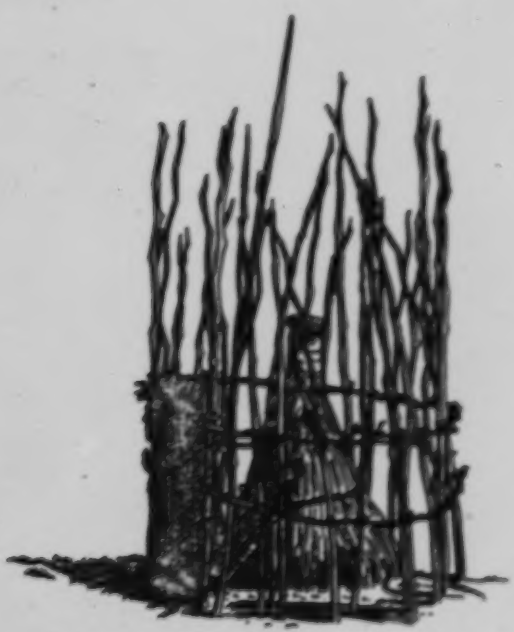

FIG. 9. Spirit hut.

man to have intercourse with his wife, i.e. all *ajuago* live celibate lives, indeed a male *ajuago* may give his cattle to a relative avowedly because he no longer requires them to procure a wife. It was explained that he would be physically afraid of approaching a woman, "the body shrinks" being a literal translation of the Arabic words used by our interpreter. The outward signs of possession were said to be specially strong with the waxing moon, weak or absent with the

[1] Seligman, op. cit., 232

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 [1909-1910] 1932
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• 756 waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an ajwogo might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host.

[643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases,

[751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered protective against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 773 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xiii. [2] Op. cit., xliv.

3:Westermann E-5 (3910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[514] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

● 756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
756 in charms, but they also have some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working cork supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making earbeds, boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The cork supports are "invented CORK SUPPORTS
352 by Dyihang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, dog, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of earbeds wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain trades; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating corn, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little
[493] trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *dyewq*, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

773 THE COWS OF NYIKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched those who was not of their descendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dinka took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "Yes Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, eats of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwe* (Shilluk) (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

●756 SORCERY
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The third factor in the religion of the Shilluk is the *ajwiji*, and what is connected with him; *ajwiji* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *jwok* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being eaten by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

3:Westermann E-5 (2910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficent rôle in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for individual. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal pag* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwiljo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch-", or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by *Juok*?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his followers, vide page 140.

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgement. A reminiscence of sun-worship is evident from 15, page 106. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourse with men. — According to some other writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own medicine-birds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in rainy weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sea-god[1].

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wot* and *ojoj*; *wot* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *ojoj* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as man when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anyiny*; the word is derived from *anyo* to kill; *anyiny* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anyiny* is feared.

On the shrubs of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jă pă jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known.

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas *Anyuaks*, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

III. SICKNESS.

22. Treatment of Sick People.

Ŋiŋ kɔn mɔ̀ŋɔ́ yí jwɔ̀k, ku jî dwɔ̀l, ku jî kí/í kíɔ: ŋiŋ ɔ kwíc wɔ́r kí jwɔ̀k? Ká jî í kíɔ: ŋiŋ ɔ mɔ̀ŋɔ́ kíɔ́ yí jwɔ̀k? Ká dyɛ̀l dwɔ̀l, ku tíŋ tíwɔ̀ tíwɔ́ jwɔ̀k, ku yíŋ dyɛ̀l ɔ́ŋí, kí dyɛ̀l ɔ ɔ́ŋí, ɔ́ŋwɔ́ kɛ́ŋ fɔ́t, ku ɔkɔ́m yí ŋɔ́ŋ. Ká tíŋ ŋíŋɔ́. Ká ŋɔ́k ɔ kíɔ́ jwɔ̀k í dwɔ́ɔ́ kí ŋ, ku ɔjwɔ́ŋ dwɔ̀l. Ká ɔjwɔ́ŋ kíŋɔ, ku ɔ kíŋ kíɔ: kɔ̀nɔ́ kí kwɔ́r, ku ɔ kɔ: kɔ̀nɔ́ kí kíŋ, ku ɔ kɔ: kɔ̀nɔ́ kí íŋɔ, ku ɔ kɔ: kɔ̀nɔ́ kí dyɛ̀l! Ká dyɛ̀l kɛ́l, ku ŋiŋ ɔ kíɔ́ɔ́ ʃɛ́l, kí dyɛ̀l ɔ́ŋíŋ wíŋ ŋ́ŋ, ku dyɔ́l yɔ́ŋ kɛ́ŋ, ku yɔ́ŋ wɔ́ɔ́ŋ kɔ́ŋɔ́; ku ŋiŋ kíɔ́ɔ́ fɔ́ɔ́k, kí jwɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ wɔ́ɔ́ŋ.

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When a man is seized by sickness, people are called for, and the people ask: "Does he spend the whole night with sickness (is he troubled by night, so that he does not sleep)?" Again they ask: "How did the sickness come?" And a goat is brought, and the people pray, pray to God; then the ear of the goat is cut off; spittle is sprinkled on the body of the sick person; the goat is killed, its blood flows on the earth; the meat is eaten by the people. Now the people scatter (go home). If next day the sickness is still bad on him, a sorcerer is sent for. When the sorcerer comes, he says: "Bring a hoe!" and: "Bring a fish-spear!" and: "Bring a skin-cloth," and: "Bring a goat!" When the goat is brought, the sick man is brought into the bush. The goat is put on the top of a white ant hill; its belly is cut open; when this is finished, the man is carried home, and the sickness disappears.

539* ɲ55 [182]

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23. Another Report on Sickness.

*Jwɔ́ɔ́ mɔ́ŋɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ ʃí dwɔ́ɔ́ŋ. Ká ɔjwɔ́ŋ dwɔ̀l, ku ɔjwɔ́ŋ kíŋɔ, ku ɔ kɔ kíɔ: kɔ̀nɔ́ kwɔ́r, ɔ́ŋɔ́ kwɔ́t yɛ́t. Ká dyɛ̀l kɛ́l, ku líɔ kɛ́l, ku ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ kɛ́l, kí pɔ́ŋ́ kɛ́l, ku kɛ́ŋ kɛ́l, ku yɔ́ɔ́k kɛ́l, kí líɔ́ kɛ́l, kí kíɔ́ɔ́ kɛ́l, ku ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ kɛ́ŋ ʃí́ɔ́ kí ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, ku yɔ́ŋ ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́l. Ká ŋíŋɔ́ kɛ́l, ŋíŋ ʃí́ɔ́ɔ́ yɔ́ŋ, ku ɔ́ɔ́ yíl yɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, ku ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́; ku ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, ku ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ ɔ ŋ́. Ká yɛ́ ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, ku ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ yɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́k, ku ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ yɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́k, ku ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a goat is brought, and a skin-cloth, and a ram, and a knife, and a round spear, and a curtain (kind of) grass, and a fan, and a gourd. The ram is laid on the earth at the door of the hut, with its belly turned upwards. Then the sick man is brought, he sits down on the belly of the ram, his wife is placed behind him (on the ram), and his youngest son in front of him; thus they hold the ram fast, till it dies. Then they rise, the belly of the ram is cut open, the contents of the stomach are taken out and smeared on their bodies (of these three persons). The heart also is cut out, and the bowels. The hoof is cut off, and these things are buried at the door of the hut. Now the medicine is crushed, it is mixed with water, it is given to the sick man, and drunk by him. And they string beads, red ones, their name is *yiyɔ*, they are tied about his back. The fan is cut in pieces, and the gourd too, and the grass is taken, and brought into the bush on the pathway, it is thrown on the pathway; water is poured into the gourd and thrown on the ground. The round spear is taken by the carrier, so are the bow, the knife, the meat, and the ram.

24. Sicknesses.

dwäŋ the abdomen is swollen, pains, diarrhoea.

ŋjé heart-ache, pulmonary disease.

däŋkɔ̈ cold, catarrh.

dwɔ̈ŋ insanity, lunacy.

cwin wiik giddiness.

dɔ̈ŋɔ́ teeth fall out, pains in the bones.

dɔ̈ɔ̈r dropsy, hydropsy.

dɔ̈lɔ́ pains in the buttocks.

dɔ̈ŋɔ́ rheumatic pains, chiefly in the legs; feeling cold.

ŋɔ̈w guinea worm. Furunculi of the Arabs; filaria medinensis.

kwaŋɔ́ swelling of knees and elbows.

ŋɛ́ leprosy

dɛ́ɛ́ a disease of the head, the hair comes out in consequence of ulcerous inflammation.

ŋjɔ̈ɔ̈ŋŋɔ́ the skin peels off.

ɛ̈r caries.

wiɛ́ a kind of light leprosy.

kwɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ kwɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ swelling of the shin-bone.

kwɔ́r sub-rheum, "lupus".

ŋjɔ̈ŋɔ́ small-pox.

dɔ̈ŋ a sickness manifesting itself in strong fevers, generally mortal, chiefly children suffer from it.

yí kwɔŋ́ "thing of the stranger", that is: of the Arab; siphylis.

kɔ̈ŋŋɔ́ inflammation of the finger-joints; parts of the finger rot off.

dɛ́ɛ́k inflammation of the joints; of the toes.

ŋwɔ́ gonorrhoea.

kɔ́r boils.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

*539 the men of Adokong,[1] and the king said, "Ah!" Then came the men of Ningaro, he said: "Well, bring water!" And water was brought. He washed himself, he washed his hands (as a preparation for eating food); then he took the beans out and ate them. Nyadwai said, "Kill all the other witch-doctors!" And they were killed.

In the time of the reigning of king Yo, some Dinka men whose name was Longyang, came into the Shilluk country, and lived there. He was a sorcerer. Towards the end of his reigning Yo ordered the sorcerer to be brought, and [718] he killed him (on account of his sorcery). On that a war arose with the Dinkas, and they fought at Tonga; Tonga was destroyed. Then the king said, "The whole army shall go!" And the Dinkas ran away.

69. The Vision of the Sorcerer.

787 There was a certain man whose name was Wot Kwa Okot, he was also called
*539 Agwonityep, a very strong man; he was a sorcerer. One day he had a vision, and he said, "The white people come!" And the white people came, the country was destroyed by them. And he died, and was mourned; but before he died, he said, "Ah, the chieftainship shall be taken over by Ajaiong after my death. But the man who kills me by his witchcraft, he too shall die after me." And he was mourned, and his sister fell under the door-palm.[2] And the man who had bewitched him, was struck by lightning, and died; for he had been cursed by the sorcerer. And all the people believed in him, saying, "Agwonityep is a strong man indeed!" The medicine men were afraid, and so the village lived in a peaceful condition.[3]

70. Agok.

*539 *Jwɔ̀k'chwɔ̀lo Agɔ̀k, mɔ̀ɔ́ɛ́ tɔ́k jɔ̀l ɲwɛ́. Jɔ̀l mɔ̀ŋ̀ kɔ̀ɔ́c ɔ́jwɛ́ŋ́ɛ́, ka ɟwɔ́k ɲwɔ́ɲ́, ka ɟwɔ́k yɛ ŋɛ́ yí fíc. Ke jî ɛ́ɲ́ɔ́ kɔ́l, ka jî ka: ɛ́, Agɔ̀k, ɟwɔ́k ɔ́ ɟɛ́c. Kjɛ́ɛ: ɔ́ ɛ́ɲ́ɔ́ yí ŋɛ́? Kjɛ́ɛ: kɔ́jɔ́. Chɔ́ɔ́ jî! Ke jî chɔ́ɔ́; ka ɔ ka: ɔ́wɔ́l, jɔ́ɔ́c yɔ́n ɔ́ ɲwɛ́ɲ́ ɟwɔ́k? Kjɛ́ɛ: ɲɛ́ɛ́! Kjɛ́ɛ: kɔ́ɲwɔ́ŋ́? Kjɛ́ɛ: yɛ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́ɛ́ yɔ́n! Kjɛ́ɛ: kɔ́, yí ka ɲɟɔ́ɔ́ɟ́, wɛ́ɛ́ ɟɛ́ɛ́ɲ́, ɛ́jɔ́ɔ́ lîck! yí ɛ́ɛ́ chɔ́ɔ́ yí ɟɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí ɟɔ́ ɛ́jɛ́ŋ́? Yɔ́ ɟwɔ́ɛ́ yɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɛ́, ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́k. Kjɛ́ɛ, ɔ́, ɛ́ɛ́ wɔ́ɔ́ ɟɛ́ɛ́ɲ́! Kɛ́ɛ, chɔ́ɔ́! A chɔ́ɔ́ kí ɟɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́.*

Ke jɔ̀l ɟwɔ́ ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka kí ɟɔ́ɛ́ yí ɲwɔ́ɲ́. Ke jɔ̀l ɟwɔ́ tɔ́k yí Agɔ̀k, kjɛ́ɛ: ɔ́wɔ́l, kɛ́ɛ́ jɔ̀l ɲwɛ́ chɔ́ɔ́ɔ́! Kɔ́ ì kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, chwɔ̀lo ɟɛ́ɛ́ ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́. Ke mwɔ̀l ka ɔ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɟɔ́ɛ́ ɟwɔ́ yí ɟwɔ́ɲ́. Gɛ́ ɟɔ́l fíc, ka kíɛ́ ɟwɔ́ɔ́. Ke ɔ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kjɛ́ɛ: ɟɔ́ɔ́kɛ́ mɔ̀ŋ̀ɔ́ ɔ́ ɟɔ́l yí ɟwɔ́ɲ́ yí jɔ̀l ɲwɛ́. E ka: dɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɲɟɔ́ɔ́ɟ́ ɟɔ́ɔ́? Yí ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɲɛ́ kɔ́ɲɔ́ kjɛ́ɛ: kɛ́ɛ́, jɔ̀l ɲwɛ́ ɔ́ ɟɔ́ɛ́ ɟwɔ́ɲ́! Kjɛ́ɛ: kɛ́ɛ́! Kjɛ́ɛ: yí ɛ́ɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́? Kjɛ́ɛ: chwɔ̀lo ɟɛ́ɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ ɟɛ́ɛ́ɲ́! Kjɛ́ɛ: ɛ́, chɔ́ɔ́ ɟɔ́ɔ́ɟ́! A chɔ́ɔ́ ɟɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ ɲɟɔ́ɔ́ɟ́ kjɛ́ɛ: jɔ̀l ɟwɔ́ɲ́, ɟɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɛ́ jî? A ɟɔ́ɔ́k

[1] They did not know the cause either, except the last, who found out the cause of the mourning.
[2] The "medicine men" are the "bad sorcerers", who try to kill people by their witchcraft. They are called here "jo ɲɛ́ɛ́" "men of medicine", as opposed to the ɔ́jwɛ́ŋ́ɛ́, who is supposed to work for good. [3] vide Introduction.

[754] [766]

made at all times of crises and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, used to be identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approached the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaire, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengait, and also a belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Endeavours is made to *pan jwok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajwogo)

Ajwogo means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the *ajwogo* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.238.
(2) *Ibid.*

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periodic possession by the spirit of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyikang may or may not be nyoge, for mere connection with a shrine does not automatically make a man an nyoge.

According to Seligman when a man becomes an nyoge he becomes ill and has dreams. On consulting one who is already in the profession, he is told that he has in him a spirit of one of the early kings. Special ceremonies are performed, the habits and skills marking an nyoge are acquired, and the man begins to practise in his professional capacity. The power is frequently hereditary and a son or daughter or even a remote relative may become possessed. All witchdoctors live celibate lives whether they are male or female. According to Seligman an nyoge marries wives and others beget children for him.(1) Many witchdoctors are specialists in some branch of magic but some have general powers. Some of the main tasks performed by them are: to give safety on a journey, to bring success in hunting, to bring victory in war, and to detect those who will be killed in a fight and forestall their deaths. They are believed to have the power of curing disease and also to kill by magic. The witchdoctors are essential to the community as diviners and they have the ability to ward off evil spirits and bad magic. Very often an nyoge possesses a 'ground of Juok', which is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron hook. The gourd is greased and some grain is put in it. When it is shaken the grain rattles and that is presumed to be Juok talking. The gourd is kept in the nyoge's house and is consulted for purposes of divination.'(2)

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Many of the witchdoctors exert a powerful influence over the people and, in consequence of the fees they receive, are usually prosperous.

The Jolpet

The jolpet, 'the man of herbs', is a sorcerer dealing essentially in bad magic, as opposed to the good magic of the nyoge. The jolpet is greatly feared. He works in secret at night so that the Shilluk are never sure who is a jolpet, though they will kill anyone whom they suspect of practising sorcery.

754 [683]

The jolpet is thought of as being a somewhat evil soul, as such, he should be drowned at birth. The father alone has the power to save his son. When a sorcerer has reached maturity he cannot be killed openly unless the people of his village determine to rid themselves of the evil they believe him to be causing. The power is not considered to be hereditary. The sorcerer, in practising his evil arts, uses parts of his victim's body or things closely associated with him. He makes mud effigies and pretends them or puts them in a fire and is believed by these means to destroy the persons they represent. A sorcerer may cause sickness, bring misfortune by ruining crops, by causing cattle to go barren and so forth. Sorcerers work against children in a large family and certain accidents and deaths may be caused by their machinations. The basis of the sorcerer's activities is considered to be envy of the successful and the prosperous, whom he therefore endeavours to injure.

[683]

(1) Seligman, Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. 1932. p.191.
(2) Oglor, S.N.R., 1926. Vol.III. No.1. p.114.

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756 to encircle him with its legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to kneed his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a cooking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three highly pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blesses it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles
[782] he prays: "Help my servant that the man may live. I have worked; the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who created, and the tree (medicine)."

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

759 The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their
762 property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he reforms and leaves
759 all his old practices, and hires his powers to help people. When they try
● 759 to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye witnesses of the cure, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the cure, two cows were paid. The patient was tied so he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said: "You see the man, and the fee. Shall we help him? If you assent, go to him." The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

759 Another reformed malignant medicine man, had such power over a cer-
791 tain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some mishap would ever take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give as a fee the first fish taken, and

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THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE GOOD MEDICINE MEN.

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

●756 The Shilluks think of the witch doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men. Their powers are for sale, and man in his need may go to them for help. The patient, who brings no fee, will not be treated, as they do no charity work. In the contest between good and evil, they seem to typify the good, as combating the powers of the evil medicine man.

The people are not agreed as to the source whence the medicine [774] man receives his power. Some maintain that the power comes from God, and others, that it is a heritage from the man's ancestors but the difference is not great, as those, who think of the power as coming from the ancestors, would also say that the first person of the line having the power received it from God. A medicine man is usually followed by one of his sons. The child to receive the power is designated by the father, and is usually either the oldest or youngest son, though a daughter may also be possessed of the power to work charms. The occult power may also descend on the descendants of a son or a daughter of a medicine man, who did not inherit that power, and the fact that the power of working charms comes to a person whose father was not a witch doctor may be explained as a proof of the return of the power of some forgotten ancestor.

756 762 [581] When a man begins the practice of the art the first ceremony consists of a dedication prayer something like this: "You who are God, the power is yours. In order that I may save people, help me. Father, and my ancestor, the power was yours, so help me. The fee is yours, father, it will be given by me to you, and God". So the first fee is dedicated to God or to the source of the power, as a sort of payment to obtain the power. The first fee is usually a female, either a lamb, kid or calf, though occasionally a male

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may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. 752
Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the 782
consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though
that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the
calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from
the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an
animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an
ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, feet, and head of the
sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the
devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the
devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death,
as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is
a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he
becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his
father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to
the source of his power.

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a
prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the
same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, [539]
who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I
praise you, and my ancestor (Nikang) and Deng (who is wor-
shipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not
thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many peti-
tions, but practically the only reason given why it should be an-
swered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby.

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he 755
covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in 756
his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have
the power. However after a man has once established his reputation
failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice.

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their children 756
are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The [758]
natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their
victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family.
The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant [551,
charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he 515]
usually only has a few children.

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756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

754 781 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

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The man, who had been sick leans upon his staff as he walks. They then return to the house of the patient in the same way, and usually a fee is given the medicine man, and he says: "I have mine now, you will not be sick again". The patient then discards his staff, and early the next morning he goes to work again. 756

The witch doctor claims the power to kill a person by casting a charm on him, but for such a service he exacts a very heavy fee, as the risk to the witch doctor is considerable. The spirit of the departed is liable to return, and make war on the medicine man, and in the end kill him. It is necessary for the medicine man to outwit the spirit of the departed and that is accomplished by killing a chicken. The dead chicken is placed in an earthen vessel, and it is buried in the road with the bottom of the vessel up, and protruding out of the ground. This device brings protection in two ways. First every person passing the vessel is liable to carry away a bit of the curse, and in the second place the chicken has a spirit, which is greatly displeased at being killed, and it immediately decides that it is due to the departed that death was inflicted on it, and so it makes war on the spirit of the departed, and the poor shade gets so busy defending himself against the shade of the chicken that it has no opportunity to return to inflict punishment on the medicine man. Every medicine man, who passes the vessel taps it with his club. He thinks that in that way some of the power of the medicine man who put the vessel in the road will be given to him. After the death of the victim the medicine man also demands a sheep from his client, so that he can sacrifice it to help to appease the spirit of the departed. 775 756 759

When a village is going into a fight it is very convenient to know before, who will be killed. They have at least two ways of learning this. By one method two spears are stuck in the earth. They are connected at the top by a string, and another string passes between them at the bottom. All the fighting men bearing their weapons, must pass between the spears, and if a man or his weapons touch either the spears or the string he will be killed in the fight. The second method is by the gourd of God. Many of the more successful witch doctors have a gourd of God. It is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased, and in it is put some grain. When the gourd is shaken 756 787 726

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the grain rattles, and that is God talking. The gourd is kept in the medicine man's house, and an outsider is not permitted to approach it. A small space is moulded in front of the gourd, and then a little court is formed in front of it, and a mat is frequently placed in front of the gourd to give it greater privacy. When a fight is imminent the gourd of God is brought out, and each of the warriors casts his spoon on the gourd. For spoons they use mussel shells. When a spoon breaks it is a sign that the owner will be killed in the fight. When a bit is chipped from the spoon it is a sign that the owner will be wounded in the fight. When all the people have been tasted the men who are indicated as liable to death are called, and they are told to bring a heavy fee, and the witch doctor goes through a form to avert the evil that is impending.

The gourd is used for other purposes as well. When a man wishes to consult the gourd of God he is conducted into the house by the owner of the gourd, and the first thing the suppliant does is to cast the gift for God on the ground, which belongs to the owner of the gourd. He then kneels before the altar, and makes known the reason for his coming. The medicine man declares that is easy, and that it is already accomplished, and the gourd is rattled at his back, and also in front of him, and is then passed around his head in circles.

Recourse may also be had to the gourd of God when a man is going on a journey. After making his approach to the gourd, and stating his needs the medicine man takes two spoons. One which is dirty represents the suppliant, the other which is clean represents his enemy either known or unknown. The clean spoon is then put in water, so that the anger of the enemy will be cooled, and his thoughts will not be so bitter. Knotted grass is then put in the water with the clean spoon. That is a gag which binds the mouth of the enemy so that he can not speak against the suppliant. The gourd is then rolled across the road on which the traveller expects to start. The gourd is then rattled near his head, back and chest. The man then crouches in the house looking out toward the road on which he expects to travel. The medicine man then leaps over him, and then turns, and leaps over him the other way, and that is repeated. He is then advised to start on his journey, and is assured that nothing will injure. He starts, and the witch doctor

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follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water.

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the supplicant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome.

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass.

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest.

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them.

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualize the fate of his victims. For example,

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when he is asked to kill a man he may take a sheep, and cleave its head with an axe, and he declares that in the same manner his power has broken the head of the man against whom the charm was worked. They try to impress the people with a sense of the mysterious, and very frequently they have strings stretched in their houses to impress the people who seek their services.

The witch doctors exert a powerful influence over the Shilluks. Their influence is always against innovation, and they seek to hold the old order of things. While a medicine man who is just beginning his practice must be successful to gain the confidence of the people, yet when he once has their confidence he can readily explain away all his failures.

Very few Shilluks will admit that they believe in the power of the medicine man, but in spite of their denials they seek him constantly, and their whole manner of life is influenced by the witch doctor. A few are beginning to question the whole system. Once a gourd of God broke when some warriors were being tested before a fight. The grain that had been in it was spilled on the ground. One man pointed to the grain, and said: "Is that God"? Apparently he was the only one of the party, who connected the noise made by the gourd with the grain that was in the gourd.

So long as the Shilluks are dominated by the medicine men, they will make very slight advancement in their mode of thought and their manner of living.

776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
821 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

643 Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
766 man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
775 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
776 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
782 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

643 Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
769] made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

769 Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of batter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
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devotees. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into 775
people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit 776
of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater 787
part profess to be acting for Nikawng, though Dok has a numerous following. 756
People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king
claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a 787
vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is 755
taken near the fire. A head is put on the forehead of the person to be treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are 756
taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king [431]
and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

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756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462] The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

[726] They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787] They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person,
776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the
756 spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

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of the working of the servants of Nikawng. The stories have been told by different Shilluks, and while they vary in minor details they have been essentially the same. 756

In one form of healing they use a plant. The root is taken, and chewed very fine by the healer. He then puts his mouth to the nostrils of the patient and causes the chewed plant to pass from his mouth to the nostril of the sick person. He then puts his mouth over the nose of the other, and blows very hard so that the medicine will be blown into the head of the patient. If the victim should sneeze after the treatment, he will recover. If he does not, he will die. 755 [787]

The servants of the king are especially qualified to cast birds out of people. Often, when a person is asleep, a bird perches on him, and later gains an entrance into his body. When the healer is called, she takes the sufferer to an ant-hill, and compels him to lie on the mound. A chicken is killed, cut open, and thrown out on the plain for the dispossessed birds to enter. Then a lighted torch is passed around the head of the patient in a circle. When they start home the healer follows, and fans the air with her clothes to scare the birds away. Some other woman carries a spear, which she thrusts into the air to kill the birds. When the entrance to the enclosure about the house is reached, a spear is stuck into both sides of it. After the patient enters the house the healer strikes the house and sticks a spear near the door. That spear is to keep the birds away, and is to belong to the healer when the case is cured. However it is usually taken, even when the cure is not effected, as it is to compensate for the lost time of the healer. The fee for such a treatment is a spear, a hoe, a cloth, and two sheep one of which is killed. This treatment is for the birds, which enter children. Adults are afflicted by a different kind of bird, which must be cast out in another way. 756

Colds which affect children are treated by taking the patient to an ant-hill near the river. A small grass house is constructed, and the child, and its mother placed within. The house is then set on fire, and the servant of the king cries «The house is on fire». The mother rushes out with the child, and hastens to the village. The healer follows fanning the child, with her clothes. The mother and child enter the house. The healer enters the house, and then turns with her face out of the door, and fans outward 755

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755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

[753] When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [756] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are [787] all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [553] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [782] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

756 The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 787 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: [761] «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish [682] greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the relatives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

756 An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 766 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 787 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

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they made answer. The spirit then said: «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lives». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases.

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast.

When a servant of a king begs he says: «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted.

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief.

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer.

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people.

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people.

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224 tormentors and overturn and smash the canoe, killing or maiming its occupants. In Tonga I once saw a youth whose shoulder had almost been torn away by a hippopotamus. With some companions he had been hunting in the Bahr-el-Gazal when the hippo they were attacking charged the canoe and flung its occupants into the water. He had the misfortune to fall near the enraged animal which seized his shoulder with its powerful teeth and tore the flesh. He had been taken first to the mission of Yoynyang where the priest dressed his wound as best he could, and then brought on to Tonga. When I saw him he was sitting quite impassively, [152] enduring the pain with stoicism as the Sister dressed his [743] torn shoulder while waiting for a boat to take him to the hospital in Malakal.

224 787 One peculiar feature of a hippo hunt is that the hunters, before beginning their operations, sacrifice a hen by drowning it in the river. They then bury it in the reeds at the river's edge and one (sometimes two) of them, shaking convulsively, goes into a kind of ecstatic frenzy during which he foretells the number of beasts that will be killed; one may plump for three, two large ones and a small, the other for five, three big and two small. It is remarkable that a single 'shaker's' forecast is often completely accurate, though whether this is due to his making a lucky guess, or being prompted by his guardian angel, I would hesitate to say. It is significant, however, that in later life many of these [756] amateur prophets become witch doctors.

461 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' is a saying as true of the Shilluk as of any other race of mankind, and after all his sowing and reaping, building and thatching, fishing and hunting, his 'capacity for innocent enjoyment is just as great as any honest man's'. A European travelling through Shilluk country on a hot, windless afternoon and seeing a cloud of dust rising into the air at some distance before him might wonder what freak of nature was causing a dust storm in that particular spot, when all around was so still and breathless. Approaching nearer to the phenomenon,

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778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
• 756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine
756 man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
755 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened